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TRADE UNION PRESS IN THE U.S.-OCCUPIED AREA (GERMANY)

by ELMER A. BECK



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VISITING EXPERT SERIES NO.3

Germany. (Territory under Allied occupation, 1945-
"Manpower division" U.S. zone)

OFFICE OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT FOR GERMANY (U.S.)
MANPOWER DIVISION

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OFFICE OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT FOR GERMANY (U.S.)
Manpower Division
APO 742 Berlin, Germany

THE TRADE UNION PRESS
IN THE U.S. OCCUPIED AREA (GERMANY)

by

ELMER A. BECK

Visiting Expert Series No. 3

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October 1948

FOREWORD

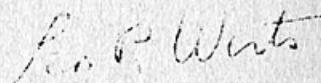
In my judgement, the labor press is one of the most important tools in the building of a sound and democratic trade union movement in Germany. In any organization, whether it be a trade union or an employer association, a governmental or an international organization, the adequacy of its communications system is most important in keeping the organization together.

It is recognized that the system of communications can be one which will reflect the thinking of the membership as well as that of the leadership of the organization, or the system of communications can be perverted into a method of permitting the leadership to dominate and to indoctrinate the membership of the organization.

It is obvious that the trade union press, being a part of a democratic organization, must place special emphasis on the role of the membership in their free trade unions. Within its scope of influence, it must ensure that the membership is not directed by officials on what to believe and which policies to support. As free men and women, the trade union members must be given the widest possible opportunity to examine critically the recommendations and policies developed by their leaders, and to offer guidance and assistance out of their experience and conviction. Those unfamiliar with this democratic method of intercommunication are apt to misinterpret expressions of differing opinion.

The trade union press in the U.S. Occupied Area has shown a deep appreciation of its function as a "watchdog of democracy". The trade union membership has been offered a wide variety of opinion on main issues affecting the welfare of the working population as well as on those larger questions of interest to the general population. It has moreover attempted to present an objective review of vital information on basic problems before attempting to open a forum discussion. In so doing the labor press has revealed a profound devotion to the traditions of democratic journalism.

One of the main purposes of the following report prepared by Mr. Beck was to offer his German colleagues the benefits of his rich background in labor journalism. Among Mr. Beck's most important contributions during his visit to Germany was the meeting which he arranged for the editors of the labor press in the U.S. Occupied Area. It is my opinion that the exchange of experience among the trade union editors will strengthen and improve the service which can be rendered by the labor press.



LEO R. WERTS
Director,
Manpower Division

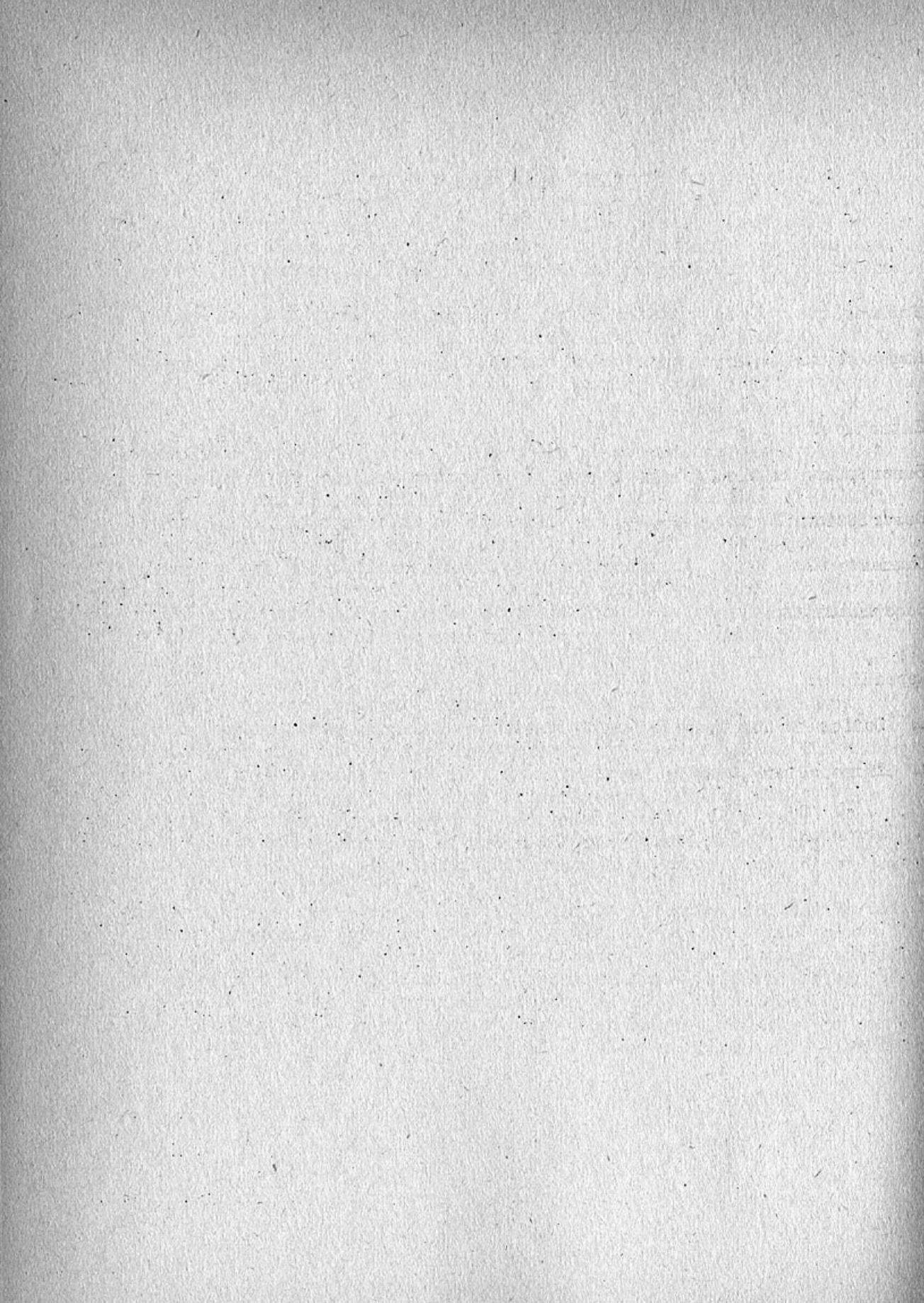


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NOTES ON THE AUTHOR

Born and raised in Milwaukee, Elmer A. Beck prepared for his career at the School of Journalism of the University of Wisconsin. Subsequent to his graduation from the University, Mr. Beck became active in journalism and particularly in labor journalism with which he has been closely identified for twelve years. He has served as editor of the former "Sheboygan (Wisconsin) Times", a trade union weekly; reporter on the "Milwaukee Evening Post", a weekly, and as associate editor of the "Wisconsin Leader", a weekly. For the past six and one half years, Mr. Beck has been the editor-in-chief of "The Kenosha Labor" which serves jointly the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in Kenosha, Wisconsin. For the past six years, Mr. Beck has held the post of Vice President of the American Newspaper Guild Local 159 in Kenosha.

At the invitation of U.S. Military Government, Mr. Beck came to Germany in June 1948 for a three-months tour of duty as expert consultant on trade union journalism to the Manpower Division, OIGUS. During this period, Mr. Beck undertook first-hand surveys of the labor press in the Bizonal Area. For purposes of his study, he consulted with German trade union editors and union officials, and with Military Government Manpower and Information Service representatives; and visited union editorial offices, publishing establishments, and industrial plants. The results of his findings are incorporated in the following report which Mr. Beck submitted upon completion of his mission to the Director of the Manpower Division, OIGUS. Except for minor editorial changes, the report has been reproduced in its original form.

THE TRADE UNION PRESS
IN THE
U.S. OCCUPIED AREA OF GERMANY *a/*

INTRODUCTION

The most constructive single action which it was possible for me to take in the interests of the German trade union press was the calling of a conference of editors and official representatives of the three Land trade union federations in the U.S. Zone, with the cooperation of the Manpower Division and Manpower Officers in these three Laender, this conference was held on 2 September 1948 in Stuttgart, Württemberg-Baden.*b/* This conference marked the first occasion on which the editors had met together and was the first joint discussion of the problems of publishing trade union papers.

The following report, with the deletion of a few portions, was delivered to the conference. Indeed, the report was drafted in such a manner as to make it appropriate for transmittal to the editors. This accounts particularly for those sections of the report describing the appearance and contents of the Daily Mirror and *Aftontidningen*. The remarks with which I prefaced my delivery of the report to the conference are included as an appendix.

The report is based on a three-month study of the official publications of trade unions in the U.S. Zone and the U.S.-licensed labor press in Berlin. These publications included the "Stimme der Arbeit" ("Voice of Labor"), organ of the Free Trade Union Federation of Hesse, the "Württembergisch-Badische Gewerkschaftszeitung" ("Württemberg-Baden Trade Union Journal") of the Württemberg-Baden Trade Union Federation, the "Gewerkschaftszeitung" of the Bavarian Trade Union Federation, "Das Freie Wort" ("Free Speech") of the Berlin Independent Trade Union Organization (Unabhängige Gewerkschaftsorganisation, or UGO), and the "Freiheit" ("Freedom"), the joint organ of the Berlin Salaried Employees Union (UGO) and the Berlin Technicians and Workmen's Union (UGO). Booklets for trade union functionaries like "Die Quelle" ("The Well") of the Bavarian Union Federation, and information bulletins issued by individual trade unions and jointly by the trade unions in Land Bremen were scanned.

a/ The views herein expressed are those of the author, and do not necessarily reflect the views of U.S. Military Government.

b/ A description of this conference and Mr. Beck's introductory address to the editors are appended.

Publications of the trade unions in the British Zone were also studied. These publications included "Der Bund" ("The Federation"), organ of the German Trade Union Federation (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, or DGB) in the British Zone; "Aufwaerts" ("Upwards"), DGB youth magazine, and "Die Bergbau-Industrie" ("The Mining Industry"), organ of the coal miners.

German newspapers of general circulation and Swedish and English newspapers were studied as indicated in the report.

Editors of all aforementioned German trade union publications were interviewed. The editors in the U.S. Zone were interviewed twice - once during a 16-day tour of the zone beginning 24 June, and again during a 13-day tour which began 13 August. The British Zone was visited for 20 days beginning 18 July. Editors of the Berlin papers were interviewed on several occasions during my stay here.

These editors were Theodor Thomas, "Stimme der Arbeit", Frankfurt; Hermann Scheffler (pen name, Hermann Volja), "Wuerttembergisch-Badische Gewerkschaftszeitung", Stuttgart; Wilhelm Endrulat, Bavarian "Gewerkschaftszeitung", Munich; Hans Jahn, "Der Deutsche Eisenbahner" ("The German Railwayman"), Frankfurt; Ludwig Diederich, "Das Freie Wort", Berlin; and Erich Gierke, "Freiheit", Berlin. At Cologne, I had a long session with Heinz Decker, publisher of "Der Bund" and "Aufwaerts" and his editorial staff.

Officers of all Land trade union federations in the U.S. Zone, of the British Zone union federation, of city federations, and of individual industrial unions were consulted. German government officials, U.S. Military Government Officers, British Military Government Officers, editors and reporters of German and American newspapers of general circulation, and many others were also consulted. All contributed to my understanding of the conditions under which the German trade unions carry on their functions, including the issuance of publications.

DESCRIPTION OF TRADE UNION PAPERS AND CONDITIONS AFFECTING THEM

The regularly-published trade union papers in the U.S. occupation zone of Germany are not news papers. They are periodicals of opinion. Having been issued until very recently no more frequently than twice a month, it was not surprising that these papers have shown little interest in news as such.

The infrequency of publication, in turn, was influenced by: 1) the physical limitations on newspapers publishing, 2) the shortage of paper which was subject to allocation controls until recently when controls were lifted, 3) the lack of printing machinery, and 4) to a certain extent, the shortage of printers.

The physical limitations have gradually been eased, even during the three months I have been in Germany, but they still prevent the trade union papers from becoming newspapers. For example, it takes eight days for the "Gewerkschaftszeitung" of Wuerttemberg-Baden to be printed after all the editor's copy

is in the printer's hands, according to the editor. The paper is printed by a book-printing firm at Stuttgart in which city an estimated two-thirds of the printing facilities were destroyed during the war.

There is a three-day lag between the completion of the editor's job and the printing of the "Stimme der Arbeit", organ of the Hesse trade union federation. This paper is printed at the "Frankfurter Rundschau", the only newspaper printing plant in Frankfurt to have escaped destruction. There were six before the war. At present, 16 papers are being printed at the Rundschau plant. Four days of waiting are required for the printing of the "Gewerkschaftszeitung" of Bavaria which is printed at the one plant in Munich available to the unions.

However, improvements in the economics of printing and of the union organizations are indicated by current plans for increasing the frequency of publication and the circulation of two of the three Land federation organs. The Württemberg-Baden paper has just been changed from semi-monthly to weekly publication, and its press run has been increased from 50,000 to 100,000. The paper began three years ago with a circulation of 30,000. The union membership in Württemberg-Baden is estimated at 460,000.

It is planned to have the Hesse paper become a weekly in the near future. On 25 July 1948 the executive board of the trade union federation authorized an increase in the press run from 30,000 to 200,000. At this writing, however, the additional paper had not been available for purchase. The Hesse trade union membership is estimated at 410,000.

No plans for changes in the Bavarian paper are contemplated at the moment. But it is worth noting that the paper which now goes to 190,000 readers began 20 August 1946 with a circulation of 40,000. It was started as a 16-page paper, but was reduced last January to its present size of eight pages. This reduction was the main factor in making possible the increased circulation.

In surveying the field of trade union publications, it is appropriate to note that the bizonal railwaymen's union, which is led by Hans Jahn, last 15 August launched at Frankfurt its own semi-monthly paper, "Der Deutsche Eisenbahner". The first issue was four pages of the usual tabloid size, and went to 60,000 of the union's 305,000 members.

The Bavarian Trade Union Federation published for young people an eight-page monthly supplement to its regular paper. A third publication of this federation is "Die Quelle", a pocket-sized booklet of facts and statistics which is distributed twice a month to 11,000 union functionaries.

The Bremen and Bremerhaven trade unionists, numbering 90,000, are served by "Der Bund" which circulates 2,000,000 copies throughout the British Zone and which contains a two-page insert for Land Bremen. In addition, a four-page letter-size information sheet of 20,000 circulation and a small booklet for young people are published by trade unions in Land Bremen.

Information sheets are also published by a few other unions in the U.S. Zone, examples being those of the Printing and Paper and the Public Service and Administration Unions of Bavaria.

Completing the list of trade union publications licensed by U.S. Military Government are two Berlin papers, "Das Freie Wort" and "Freiheit". The former speaks for UGO, Berlin's anti-Communist trade union group, and the latter is the organ of two unions: the Salaried and Office Employees and the Technicians and Foremen.

"Das Freie Wort" is something special among the trade union papers of Germany. This is because it is published in Berlin which is a special place. The paper is one of a score engaged in the ideological warfare now raging in Berlin; its purpose is to counteract Communist propaganda. It is the only trade union paper which can be termed a newspaper.

Since last July 1, "Das Freie Wort" has been published twice weekly. It was started last spring as a weekly. Its circulation which was 60,000 before currency reform dropped to 25,000 afterwards. But the circulation is climbing again and will be further aided by plans to publish editions for individual unions such as the Metal Workers employed by Siemens. (Ed. Note: Special editions featuring a page devoted to news by and for an individual trade union are now prepared for the following unions: Railway, Post, Metal, and Public Services and Administration.)

The front page of "Das Freie Wort" is a news page, with Berlin stories given preference as to position and space. Ten to twelve Associated Press items of one and two paragraphs in length are customarily carried.

The use of the AP service is shrewd. The reputation of American news agencies for objectivity, accuracy and reliability is of a high order. By contrast with the distortions in the Communist-controlled press, the use of the AP should help to establish sound credit for "Das Freie Wort" as a source of trustworthy information.

Ludwig Diederich, chief editor of "Das Freie Wort" is at 43 the youngest of the German trade union editors. Moreover, he differs from the others in that he has been in the U.S. - he was in the States for 21 months as a prisoner of war. During that time he learned English and became familiar with American newspapers and magazines.

The influence of the trade union press is not great. This would appear to be the case from the descriptive statistics set forth here. Corroboration of this surmise has been obtained in statements by trade unionists at all levels of activity and by outside observers including German and American journalists, German and American government officials, and employers.

There is a considerable weight of opinion among those who have occasion to think about it that the trade union press has not been as effective as it might have been, even within the limitations over which the unions and the editors had no control.

Particularly has the trade union press failed to interest the rank and file, one articulate representative of which told me that the union papers need "one - easier-reading articles, and two - more pictures and more cartoons."

The articles are long according to usual newspaper standards, running on occasion to several pages in length. They are opinionated, or as we say, editorial rather than objective in nature. Well written for the most part, they are often over the heads of the rank and file readers.

No special efforts have been made by the regular trade union papers to use typographical devices for the purpose of attracting the attention of readers.

Pictures are hardly used at all. A sample survey of the number of pictures used in three issues each of the several papers showed the following:

Publication 1

Issue A - 1 photo in 8 pages
Issue B - No illustration in 8 pages
Issue C - No illustration in 8 pages

Publication 2

Issue A - 4 one-column photos in 16 pages
Issue B - 2 illustrations in 16 pages
Issue C - 1 illustration in 16 pages

Publication 3

Issue A - 3 line drawings in 8 pages
Issue B - No illustration in 8 pages
Issue C - 3 photos, 1 chart in 8 pages

Publication 4

Issue A - 1 line drawing in 4 pages
Issue B - 1 line drawing in 4 pages
Issue C - 1 line drawing in 4 pages

Publication 5

Issue A - No illustration in 8 pages
Issue B - No illustration in 8 pages
Issue C - No illustration in 8 pages.

Similarly, little variety of typographical faces and sizes in headline and bodytype is employed.

The most striking product of trade union publication in Germany is the monthly youth magazine, "Aufwaerts", which was started 1st June by the Trade Union Federation of the British Zone. A rotogravure job, it features photographic covers and is well illustrated. It has a circulation of 200,000.

The extraordinary effort of "Aufwaerts" to attract and to please the reader is motivated by the idea that it is vitally important to educate the young people who grew up during the Nazi regime and learned nothing about free and democratic institutions. This idea is undeniably correct, but the suggestion is submitted here that it is equally valid with respect to the education of trade union members in general and some of the same concern for attracting their attention as readers might well be demonstrated by the regular trade union papers

DESCRIPTION OF OTHER PAPERS

at 1000

are about 10 more

The trade union papers reflect somewhat the characteristics of the general press. This is true with respect to the relative lack of interest in typographical techniques and in the selection and manner of presenting reading material.

There are among the newspapers of general circulation exceptions to the majority. One such is "Die Abendzeitung" of Munich. Its liberal use of pictures is indicated by the following counts in five random issues:

- Issue A - 9 illustrations in 4 pages
- Issue B - 11 illustrations in 6 pages
- Issue C - 11 illustrations in 6 pages
- Issue D - 16 illustrations in 6 pages
- Issue E - 12 illustrations in 6 pages

The illustrations included photos, used singly and in layouts, charts, graphs and cartoons. "Die Abendzeitung" also employs a considerable variety of type faces and sizes.

Another progressive exception to the run of daily newspapers is the "Westdeutsche Allgemeine" published at Bochum in the British Zone. In an interview with the papers' two news editors, Arthur Kaesling and O. Betzold, both were severe in their criticism of the German press, including the trade union press. They said that the German newspapers were dull and lacking in appeal to readers. Betzold said, "The German newspapers are 20 years behind the times." Both men are professional journalists with university educations and practical experience. Betzold, a graduate of the University of Berlin, was an exchange student in journalism at Wuertemberg College in 1937-1938.

The aims of the editors of the Bochum paper, the same as those of "Die Abendzeitung" of Munich, are to produce an attractive paper with concise and objective news stories and short editorials. The readers approve of these aims and like

the style of the "Westdeutsche Allgemeine". The editors believe this is made clear by letters from the readers and by sales of the paper, which amount to 300,000 in the Ruhr valley.

Two unusually attractive newspapers which I wish to bring to the attention of the trade union editors are the "Daily Mirror" of London and "Aftontidningen" of Stockholm.

The "Daily Mirror" is a striking example of typographical ingenuity to achieve a maximum of eye-catching appeal and legibility. This British paper is cited rather than an American publication as an example of what can be done with type faces and placement of headlines and articles because it is like the German papers in being limited in newsprint. In this respect the paper faces the same problem as other British as well as European newspapers. The "Mirror" publishes regularly a tabloid size paper of eight pages.

Worth observing in the "Mirror" are the following typographical techniques:

Scrupulous efforts are made to avoid placing headlines adjacent to each other, and when this is unavoidable sharply contrasting type-faces are used, such as Roman versus Italic, light-face versus bold face. The result is that each individual news story or article, no matter how small, is permitted to stand out in clear view and make its own bid for the reader's attention.

Devices in body type used to attract attention and to increase legibility include the following:

- 1 - Use of two-line bold face initial letters in many, but not all stories
- 2 - Varying type sizes
- 3 - Varying type faces, viz., regular, bold, italic, all capitals
- 4 - Varying column widths
- 5 - Underlining words and sentences
- 6 - Subheads, bold and underlined

Profuse use is made of illustrations; these include small line drawings and cartoons as well as photographs. The basic column is narrow, only half the width of the usual German newspaper column and three-fourths that of the U.S. column. The news stories are short, concise. A device consisting of a bold face circle enclosing a large dot at the left of a black line indicates breaks to following pages. Generous but judicious use of white space is used through-out. This, combined with other techniques, produces clean-looking pages.

"Aftontidningen" of Stockholm is, in my opinion, the best labor paper in the world, considered on the basis of quality and not size. It is the organ of Landesorganisationen, the Swedish national trade union federation, and has a circulation of 100,000 copies sold daily in competition with Stockholm's

two other evening papers (Morgon-Tidningen, organ of the Social-Democratic party which is the counterpart of Aftontidningen, sells 75,000 copies each day in competition with eight other morning papers).

Like the "Daily Mirror", "Aftontidningen" is versatile in the use of typographical devices. But it is a larger paper, running to 14 and 16 pages compared to the Mirror's eight. Newsprint is also rationed in Sweden but the total paper requirements for Sweden's small population are relatively small. Allocations to newspaper publishers are thus larger than in other European countries.

"Aftontidningen's" opinions on issues of the day, made up usually of one main editorial and two or three short comments, takes up all together slightly more than a half page. The editorials regularly appear on page two. The rest of the page and page three are devoted to articles of philosophical and political character. The rest of the pages are filled with news stories and entertainment.

Headlines of news stories are dynamic with verbs, in the American manner. Usually they tell the substance of the story. This contrasts with the static label or interrogative headline commonly used in German news-papers.

"Aftontidningen" is determined to satisfy the natural, normal reading interests of the ordinary, normal people who are its customers. This is shown in the amount and variety of entertainment material in each issue. Considerable space is given to sports. There is a page of comic strips. There are pages of news and discussion of movies, drama, radio; of humor, cartoons, small talk and gossip.

Photographs appear on most of the pages, ranging from half-column pictures to full-page layouts.

COMMENTS

Obviously no comparison can fairly be made between the daily newspapers of Sweden, England or the United States and the trade union press of Germany. The purpose of my descriptions of some of the papers, particularly "Aftontidningen", is to suggest some techniques and methods of journalism that are worthy of consideration by the trade union editors - techniques and methods that will be perhaps more applicable to the expanded trade union press of the near future than to that of today.

The trade union press up to date has been performing an excellent job of providing analytical comment on the economic issues of the day - on the currency reform, for instance. Comment of this type is necessary and will always be needed.

But I have felt that there has been a lack of news as such - about the many varied activities of persons and organizations. Certainly, papers that appear only twice a month cannot be very newsy, but with the change to weekly publication it may be expected that the papers will give greater emphasis to reporting rather than commenting.

A number of trade unionists have expressed the opinion to me that the union papers should confine themselves to printing thoughtful and explanatory articles and leave the reporting of news to the daily papers whose business is the handling of news.

In answer to this, I think that the trade union press can legitimately increase its interest in reporting of news as such for the following reasons:

1 - In the absence of but a few true daily papers and in view of the inadequacy of the general newspapers, the trade union press could help a great deal in supplying news which now is not published, especially in matters of special concern to workers such, for example, as activities of works councils and labor courts.

2 - Much of the labor news that appears in the daily press is meagerly or inaccurately presented.

3 - Some trade unionists are dreaming of, perhaps planning, a daily trade union newspaper.

Such dreams require interest and understanding of news and of the reading desires of the rank and file. Daily labor newspapers to be successful will have to make their way in competition with other papers and will have to satisfy their customers by pretty much the same methods as those which make other papers successful.

Part of the information requirements of many trade unionists will be filled by the inevitable emergence of regular publications of individual unions, such as those of the railroad workers and the coal miners in the Ruhr. These publications will satisfy an important need for news of affairs concerning their respective industries and trades but they will be specialized in scope and will not diminish the need for trade union papers of broad general interest ranging from the local community to international affairs.

The trade union press as much as the general daily press should be aimed at the average reader. It should be his press. Everything should be subordinated to interesting him - to catching his eye and holding it with pleasing typographical devices. News and comment should be given to him in simple language so that he will know and understand what is happening in the world.

The reader is a more important fellow by far than the editor - if only because there are so many of the readers. It is for the reader that the editor works; it is he whom the editor serves.

How important a fellow the reader is, is better understood by the managers of the Associated Press, the world's largest news agency, than by most of us. AP hired a language expert, Dr. Rudolph Flesch, to conduct a study for one year on how AP writers and editors should make their news stories easier and more interesting to read. Such concern for the average reader can well be emulated by the trade union editors.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A - In inviting the editors of the trade union publications of the U.S. Zone to meet with me at Stuttgart, I was hopeful that this would be followed by future meetings. Such meetings would be fruitful, I believe, in the interchange of information and ideas and in providing mutual inspiration to the editors. I urged the editors to hold such meetings.

B - I urged the editors to associate themselves into an organization which would do the following :

- 1 - Regularly exchange news among the trade union papers
- 2 - Disseminate important union news to the general press
- 3 - Dispatch periodic articles about Germany to the American labor press through such agencies as Labor Press Associates, Washington, and the U.S. Department of Labor. These articles should be prepared in English
- 4 - Receive and distribute American labor press material to the German union papers. These articles should be prepared in German.

C - I recommended that the trade union federations in the U.S. Zone inquire into the possibilities of training journalists to serve the trade union movement, or training unionists in journalism. "Die Abendzeitung" at Munich was set up as a laboratory school of journalism and it probably would cooperate with the unions, if they desired, in a journalism training plan.

D - I proposed to call on officials of the AFL and CIO upon my return to Washington to urge continued and expanded interest in the German trade unions. I shall urge the sending of news and information about the American unions to the German trade union papers. I shall urge that if possible this material be printed in Germany. I am especially anxious to interest the CIO in sending more material to Germany in order to counteract the tactics of the Communists of harping on the division of the American labor movement and falsely picturing the CIO as pro-Communist in opposition to the "reactionary" AFL.

E - I recommended that the Manpower Division request the appropriate governmental agency to provide for the trade union editorial offices in the U.S. Zone and sector in Berlin translations of the following American books:

The Art of Plain Talk, by Dr. Rudolph Flesch
Labor Unions in Action, by Jack Barbash; and
Labor in America, by Harold U. Faulkner and Mark Starr.

APPENDIX A

CONFERENCE OF TRADE UNION EDITORS

(Editorial Note: The conference of trade union editors in the U.S. Zone was held on 2 September 1948 in Stuttgart. Those present at the meeting included the editors of trade union publications in three Laender of the U.S. Zone: Theodor Thomas, Frankfurt, editor of the Hessian paper, "Stimme der Arbeit"; Hermann Scheffler, Stuttgart, editor of the Wuerttemberg-Baden "Gewerkschaftszeitung"; and Wilhelm Endrulat, Munich, editor of the Bavarian "Gewerkschaftszeitung". The conference was also attended by leading trade union officials including Herr Markus Schleicher and Herr Wilhelm Kleinknecht, President and Secretary respectively of the Wuerttemberg-Baden Trade Union Federation; and Herr Georg Reuter, General Secretary of the Bavarian Trade Union Federation and Herr Scheller of the Bavarian Federation's educational department. Guest Military Government representatives included the Military Governor for Wuerttemberg-Baden, Mr. Charles La Follette, and the Land Manpower Officer for Wuerttemberg-Baden, Mr. Edwin F. Beal. The following account of the conference is taken from a communication written by Mr. Beck at whose suggestion the meeting had been called.)

"Governor La Follette gave a friendly welcome to the conference. I was pleased and proud of his interest in and attendance at the conference. Your (Manpower Adviser) message to the trade union editors was read in German.

"It was an interesting and worthwhile meeting, in my opinion. The editors were keenly interested in my observations; this was indicated by questions and expressions which they made during the course of my report and afterwards. Frequently, they shook their heads in agreement with my words and said, "Stimmt!" ("That's right!"). To my critical remarks they seemed to react in a wondering, thoughtful sort of way.

"When I had concluded, Herr Schleicher made a little talk. He said that they were much interested in my criticism, that the unions lacked funds to do all that they would like to do, and that the editors would, no doubt, soon request the federation executive boards for permission to carry out some of the suggestions made in my report.

"Herr Reuter spoke at greater length. He said that when the editors had received my report in translation they would study it in detail and then submit their comments on it."

APPENDIX B

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS

(Editorial Note: Besides the foregoing report which, except for a few deletions, was delivered to the editors conference, the following introductory address was also given on this occasion by Mr. Beck.)

"I am happy and proud that we are together on this occasion. I want to thank and welcome the trade union editors and officials for coming here. And I want to thank the Manpower Division for its courtesy and help in bringing us together.

"I wish to say first things first -- to say and to emphasize the important things about this conference at the very beginning.

"That you, the editors and representatives of the German trade unions, and I, a trade union editor from America, are meeting together to discuss the problems of the trade union press -- that we are conferring together with the help of the United States Government -- this is a fact that is in itself far more important than the observations which I will shortly report to you.

"Many representatives of a variety of fields have been sent over here by the United States Government to help in the rebuilding of Germany. I am only one of those many. But it is a sign of the times, a recognition of the growing importance of the unions in America that the Government invited me to come to Germany to study the trade union press. More important, especially in the eyes of the Government, is the knowledge that the trade union press is a strong and unique instrument for the building of democracy.

"I am humble in considering my good luck in having been selected as the first trade union editor in America to travel in that particular capacity to a foreign country.

"I am delighted because of the chance it gave me to become acquainted with trade unionists on this side of the Atlantic.

"Before I proceed to report to you what I reported two days ago to the Manpower Director, let me repeat: The real importance of this meeting is that we editors of the working people's press are talking things over. It is in that fraternal spirit that I offer my observations."

DIRECTORY OF THE TRADE UNION PRESS

BIZONAL AREA AND BERLIN

The following directory of the trade union press in the Bizonal Area and Berlin was compiled by the Reports and Statistics Branch, Manpower Division, OMGUS, on the basis of available trade union publications received by this Office.

Publications of Trade Union Federations

1. "Wuerttembergisch-Badische Gewerkschaftszeitung"
Editor: Hermann Volja
Gewerkschaftsbund Wuerttemberg-Baden
Rote Strasse 2 A
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2. "Mitteilungen, Gewerkschaftsbund Wuerttemberg-Baden"
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3. "Gewerkschaftszeitung", Organ der Bayerischen Gewerkschaften
Editor: Wilhelm Endrulat
Bayerischer Gewerkschaftsbund
Landwehrstr. 7-9
Muenchen, 15
4. "Die Quelle", Organ des Bayrischen Gewerkschaftsbundes
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Landwehrstr. 7-9
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5. "Stimme der Arbeit"
Editor: Theodor Thomas
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6. "Mitteilungsblatt der Gewerkschaften fuer das Land Bremen"
Editor: Arnold Krohn
An der Weide 6/13
Bremen
7. "Das Freie Wort", (Organ of the Berlin Independent Trade Union Organization)
Editor: Ludwig Diederich
Schuetzenstrasse 7
Berlin-Steglitz
8. "Der Bund", Das Gewerkschaftsblatt der Britischen Zone
Editor: August Enderle
Venloer Wall 9
Koeln

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1. "Der Deutsche Eisenbahner", Organ der Gewerkschaft der Eisenbahner Deutschlands (Bizonal Railway Union)
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11. "Der Funktionaer"
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Fachmitteilungsblatt der Gewerkschaft Oeffentliche Dienste,
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Krefeld, Nordrhein-Westfalen

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Besenbinderhof 59
Hamburg, 1

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Techniker und Werkmeister (Affiliated to the Berlin Independent Trade
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Editors: Erich Gierke (GkB) and Erich Albrecht (GTW)
Bernburger Strasse
Berlin SW. 11

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1. "Gewerkschafts-Jugend", Monatblaetter des Gewerkschaftsbundes
Wuerttemberg-Baden
Issued by: Gewerkschaftsbund Wuerttemberg-Baden
Rote Strasse 2 A
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2. "Jugend Echo der Gewerkschaftsjugend"
Issued by: Kreisjugendausschuss Bremen
Licensee: W. Schultz
An der Heide 6-13
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Editor: Wilhelm Endrulat
Landwehrstr. 7-9
Muenchen, 15
4. "Aufwaerts", Jugendzeitschrift des Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes
(British Zone)
Editor: Rudolf Moeller-Dostali
Breitestr. 70
Koeln